1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

When an Andamanese man or woman dies he or she becomes a spirit, i.e., a *Lau* or *Čauga*. The bones of a dead person, which are dug up after the flesh has decayed, are called *Lau ṭoi* in the North Andaman, *ṭoi* being the word for "bone." The skull is *Lau ṭ'ęr-čo*, from the word *ęr-čo* meaning "head." Exactly similar terms are in use in *Aka-Bea*, the bones of a dead man being called *Čauga ta* (spirit bones). 775

The Andamanese relate legends, to be described in the next chapter, which concern the doings of mythical ancestors. As all Andamanese, when they die, become *Lau*, these ancestors are of course included under that term. They are often distinguished from the spirits of persons recently dead by being denoted as *Lau ṭ'ęr-kuro*, from the word *ęr-kuro* meaning "big," and applied to human beings to denote importance of social position. Just as a man who occupies a prominent position in his tribe is called a "big" man (*ęr-kuro*), so the ancestors of the Andamanese legends are called "big" spirits. The *Aka-Bea* use a similar term, *Čauga tabaya*, to distinguish the ancestors from the spirits of ordinary persons.

The name *Lau* or *Čauga* is also applied by the Andamanese to the natives of India and Burma whom they see in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair. The *Aka-J̌eru* name for the Penal Settlement is *Lau-ṭ'ara-nyu*, literally "the village of the spirits." At the present time the term *Lau* or *Čauga* is not applied to Europeans, who are generally spoken of in the North Andaman by the Hindustani word "sahib." Natives of the North Andaman told me that in former times (before 1875) they applied the term *Lau* to Europeans also not distinguishing them from other light-skinned aliens. The necessity for distinguishing between Asiatics, such as natives of India, and Europeans, has only arisen since they have come to have dealings with the Penal Settlement. 186 775

The term *Lau* is not applied by the Andamanese to aliens of their own race. Nor would it be applied, I believe, to men of other black races such as the African negro. I showed the natives photographs of Semang from the Malay Peninsula and also of natives of Africa and New Guinea, and in all cases they called them *J̌arawa*, that being the term applied by the Great

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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186 Andaman tribes to the natives of the Little Andaman. On the
775 other hand they called Polynesians *Lau*.

For many centuries the Andaman Islanders have been accustomed to see light-skinned men visit their shores in ships, Europeans, natives from the coasts of India, Burma and Malaya, and occasionally perhaps Chinese. To these aliens they gave the name of *Lau*, apparently regarding them as visitors from the only other world they knew of, the world of spirits[1]. The clothes that these "spirits" wore they called *Lau ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning "cold."

775 The spirits of the forest and the sea are believed to be generally invisible, but there are tales of men and women who have seen them, and their personal appearance is sometimes described. The descriptions vary considerably from one informant to another. One of the commonest statements is that they are light or white skinned. (The Andamanese vocabulary does not allow of any distinction between white and a light gray or a light shade of colour.) One man, however, said that the forest spirits are black (or dark), while the sea spirits are white (or light). I was told several times that the spirits have long hair and beards (the Andamanese having, as a rule, no beard, and their hair, being frizzy, never growing to any length). Their arms and legs are said to be abnormally long, while they have only small bodies. Though there is no uniformity in the way in which the natives describe the spirits of the jungle and the sea, there is a notable tendency to associate them with the grotesque, the ugly, and the fearful. There is a common belief that the spirits, both of the jungle and of the sea, carry about with them lights, which several men and women claim to have seen.

In reply to the question as to how the spirits of the forest and the sea originated, the natives all agree in saying that they are the spirits of dead men and women.

791 The jungle spirits live in a village (or villages) in the forest.
775 There is a belief that mortals wandering by themselves in the jungle have been captured by the spirits. Should the captive

[1] A similar custom is found in many savage tribes. Thus in many parts of Australia the aborigines call white men by the same name that they apply to the spirits of the dead.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880) 1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

619 186 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jũ·wai-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, *.â·kà-.jār·o-*, and *.âkà-.chârìàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.â·kà bō·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.â·kà-kŏl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yē·rewa-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly